/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekko. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

311 /14 cont./ Accordingly, when bad harvests
241 follow one another too closely, the less favored regions first cast
166 the people back toward the springs and séguias; then, if the rains
[132] still delay, as happens several times a century, famine chases
[731] families and flocks toward the plains of the Gharb /Rharb/.
[727] Tribal migrations in the wake of wars and epidemics further accelerate this perpetual stir. The result of these internal move-
[101] ments is to facilitate the fusion of races, unify culture, and give
[144] to the elements that form the "Chleuh" /Shluh/ group common characteristics that distinguish it easily from the other Berbère /Berber/ populations.

121 VII. The roads of the Atlas and of the Anti-Atlas. -- What-
101 ever may be the richness of the central valley of the Sous wadi, which the Zagmouzen, the Haut-Dra, and the Dadès produce between the two chains, it is not in this part of the Moroccan South that one can observe the most original manifestations of the social life of the Berbères /Berbers/. The latter are not at ease in the qsour /fortified places/ and the big villages in the
[179] midst of the séguias and gardens. There they encounter the "haraten" /Haratin/ -- descendants of black slaves -- the /15/ Arabs who have entered the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the shorfa /shurfa/, and the marabouts, attracted by the fertility
[144] of the land. The population of the oases resulting from this mixture of races soon loses all its warlike qualities and most often falls under the domination of foreign leaders or of the more bellicose tribes in the vicinity. The true territory of the autochthons remains the mountains, and it is by studying the groups that occupy them and remain the most active and the most numerous that we shall succeed at the same time in understanding what influences are exerted on the lives of the inhabitants of tne plains.

133 The Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/ and the Anti-Atlas do not by
491 any means constitute an impassable barrier. They are crossed by numerous passes, which take the line of the valleys, by which constant relations are established between the two versants, so that the displacement of people, the migration of families and tribes are scarcely stopped by the obstacle of the mountains.

/233 cont./

*634 addressed to women who are picking up wood at the boundaries
578 of the country, pasture dispute, theft in a souk /sook/, suffice
726 to revive the memory of ancient discords and to draw up, for
628 several years, the "Indghertit" against the "Imsifern," the "Aït Atman" against the "Aït Iraten." Besides, the combats are not murderous. The warriors betake themselves to a place consecrated by tradition for the settling of disputes, and they exchange
*634 shots indefinitely. It is exceptional that a powerful alliance
578 would succeed in suddenly defeating an enemy republic; in that
628 case, a village is destroyed, but the women and children are al-
•727 ways spared. When success crowns the efforts of the assailants, everyone rushes to the pillage. The love of booty was enough,
[181] at the time of the Almohades, to carry along all the tribes of the Haut-Atlas to the conquest of Morocco; to see this passion of the Berbère /Berber/ for pillage being exercised, one understands the violence of the efforts that he can supply to satisfy it, and the advantage that a clever chief can draw from it.

*634 IX. The festivities and the dances. -- Ceaselessly led to
579 react against the internal divisions by calling on the bonds of
578 brotherhood, /234/ the families associated to form an independ-
182 ent "taqbilt" try in all circumstances, doubtless unknown to
796 them, to recreate unity by means of collective ceremonies: "tinoubga," dances, religious and traditional festivities, annual mousem. The social utility of these rejoicings appears all the more as one penetrates further into the social life of these small groups perpetually threatened with scission, and one understands that attendance at these festivities often takes on an obligatory and ritualistic character (1).

1. In certain fractions the notables hold the list of the girls who dance and can be summoned at the time of tribal festivities.

621 Within the "mouda^{c}," each festival of the year, "^{c}Aïd es Seghir,"
632 "^{c}Aïd el Kebir," "^{c}Achoura," as well as marriages or
*634
796
535

175 /304 cont./
159 the support of the amghars of Taberbourt of the Aït Semmeg and
of those of Talemt, enemies of the Bazzi of Talekjont.
*634 The leff of the "Aït Zolit," having thus entered with its
578 chiefs into the service of the amghar Mohammed n Aït Lhasen by
616 the overturning of the ancient alliances, became from then on
the enemy of the mountain "Aït Atman." When the amghar
• [727] Achefar of Tagemout, driven from his country by the master of
Tagontaft, came to take refuge on the territory of the "Aït Zolit,"
the amghar Mbarek of the Onein betrayed him and plundered him.
The refugee then fled to the Aït Oumzal, in the fraction of the
amghar Hijjo, but he was poisoned there. Up to our day all the
fractions thus rallied were to remain faithful to the Gontafi.

175 One last event was going to increase further the power of the
159 chief of the Nefis and make of him the uncontested master of the
mountains until the day when the Makhzen /makhzan/ would
*634 consent to recognize his strength officially by giving him the title
648 of kaid.
*631 The death of Brahim el Grawi, pasha of the casbah at Marra-
726 kech, which took place at the same time as that of the Sultan,
Sidi Mohammed, drowned in the basin of the Agdal (1874), had
just put an end to the truce that had permitted the amghar Mo-
hammed to conquer the asif Nefis by force or politics. Ahmed ou
Malek, new pasha of the casbah, had refused to ignore the
Gontafi's rebel status any longer, because, they say, he was find-
ing the presents sent to him insufficient. ʿAli Ben Lhasen of
Agergour, kaid of the Ouzgita, found the moment favorable for
obtaining a new expedition against his rebel sheik. He cleverly
had spread in the land the rumor that the amghar Mohammed
wanted to make himself independent, as the Almohades had been
in the same places, and this memory was enough to make Marra-
kech tremble again. This time important contingents were
assembled; a kaid of the "gich" /gish/, ʿAbdallah Tamachot,
who represented the Makhzen /makhzan/, went back up the Nefis,
accompanied by the Ouzgita and tribes of the plain and of the
Dir of Marrakech: the Oulad Dlim, the Ida Ou Blal, the
Gheghaia, the Souktana. At the same time the kaid Cherradi

/304 cont./
175 of Amismiz arrived by way of the Ogdemt with the forces of the
159 Gedmiwa. /305/ Finally, the Aït Waouzgit and the Glawa de-
*634 scended toward Tinmel, by way of the cols of the Onein, under
*631 the authority of Mohammed Ibibat, chief of Telwet and father of
648 Si el Madani Glawi.
726 Before the arrival of this formidable harka, the amghar Mo-
• [727] hammed had set afire with his own hand his supplies from Talat n Yaqoub and had taken refuge in the impregnable agadir that he had had constructed by the tribe at Tagontaft. The allied contingents were assembling in disorder in the Tinmel basin when, from the terraces of the casbah of the amghar Mohammed, there was seen advancing through the Tizi n Tgontaft the harka of the Glawi, which stopped a short distance from the fortress. What exactly happened then? Could the riches of the Gontafi, already famous, play their usual role? Did Si Mohammed Ibibat, an ambitious and prudent man, understand that he was risking being a victim of the same fate later in his mountains and that it was doubtless better to spare oneself an ally? It is also said that the amghar Mohammed of Tagontaft invoked, with the chief of Telwet, the brotherhood of the Aït Waouzgit, to whom the tribe of the Asif Nefis as well as that of the Glawa are connected by ancient alliances. However that may be, after a sham combat at Aman n Iniris, the horsemen of Mohammed Ibibat fled and brought about panic in the whole army of the Makhzen /makhzan/, camped in the plain of Tinmel. At the same time, 75 men shut up in the house of Tayeb n Ouchefar at Tagemout were encircled and constrained by thirst to surrender unconditionally to the "Aït Iraten." All the chiefs of the Ouzgita of the Kik and the "Aït [727] Atman" from the Nefis wadi who were found there had their throats cut like sheep, while, through clever thoughtfulness, the captured soldiers of the Makhzen were, on the contrary, sent back after having received new clothes.

175 The rout of the great harka definitively established in the
159 south the reputation of the Aït Lhasen of Tagontaft. People hardly
*634 knew how to explain, if it is not by the effect of the magic
554 baraka of the amghar Mohammed and his family, how "two of
778

/305 cont./

175 159 *634 554 [798] [648] [616] them were able to manage to put to flight 1,000 men from the plain." At the same time this struggle against the Sultan's forces had made a kind of champion of Berbère /Berber/ independence out of the amghar Mohammed. Without soliciting it, he had obtained the co-operation of the montagnards of the two leffs of the summits of the Tichka and of the south versant of the mountain; even from the Anti-Atlas volunteers had /306/ arrived in large numbers, who could report in their tribes the news of the marvelous success achieved at Tagontaft, almost without combat. Finally, the fugitives pursued in the whole valley of the [729] Nefis as far as the plain of Marrakech manifested quite well on the north versant of the Atlas, by their terror, the redoubtable strength of the new chief.

175 159 *634 648 *631 It remained to have this triumph recognized by the new sultan, Moulay el Hasan. This was a new victory to carry off, still more difficult than the preceding one. The diplomatic cleverness of Si Tayeb, third son of the amghar Mohammed, ensured success. The young man, sent by his father as emissary to Marrakech, was at first loaded with chains by Ahmed ou Malek, kaid of the casbah, furious over having been defeated. Thanks to the intervention of the kaid ᶜAbderrahman of the Mesfiwa and the protection of the marabout Abou ᶜAli el Hasan of Timigilcht, of the Nasiria of the Dra, Si Tayeb Gontafi, sent to Fez, succeeded in getting in the good graces of the sovereign; he obtained for his part the title of kaid, and shortly afterwards his father, the amghar Mohammed, also received the investiture of the Makhzen /makhzan/ (1).

[113) 1. Cf. our study on "Le développement du pouvoir des caïds de Tagontaft /The Development of the Power of the Kaids of Tagontaft/" (Mémorial, H. Basset, Vol. II, p. 169), and "Istiqsa," Fumey trans., Archives marocaines, Vol. X, p. 302.

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
*[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general con-
[796] fusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[778] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

175 /350 cont./
*631 refractory bloc only the cantons of the Aït Tawiya and of the
*634 Ikhzamen, enemies of the Aït Imini; next comes the revolt of
616 the amghar ʿAli of Tamedakht, supported by the whole confed-
726 eration, and which comes to an end with his death. About 190ℓ
669 the amghar Zanifi of Tazenakht rises in his turn, aided by the amghars of the Azilal; the policy of Telwet then succeeds in winning in the two leffs the Aït Tawiya, Ikhezamen /sic/, the Aït Oubial, Aït Atman, and the /351/ Inmarakht and breaking up the coalition; finally, after the great siba, from 1910 to 1913, the heavily armed Glawa subjugate the valleys and put an end to the violent quarrels of the amghars in the Azilal.

175 During these 25 years of fighting, the leff of the "Inemzel," traditional ally of the Glawa, showed itself in the country of the
*631 Aït Waouzgit to be nearly as hostile to the kaid of Telwet as the
*634 leff of the Aït Iraten, except, however, among the Ikhzamen and
616 the Aït Tawiya; most often it was the ambitions of the amghars
726 and their rivalries that enabled the Makhzen /makhzan/ chiefs to dissociate the forces of resistance.

175 Tired of the country's successive revolts, the Glawa, starting
178 from 1913, undertake to organize the country in such a way as to break all resistance. Their first concern is to destroy, upon the
*631 passage of the harka, all the agadirs that they perceive in the
*634 valleys of the Tifnout, of the Azilal, and of the Zagmouzen; later,
726 all circumstances will be utilized to ruin the collective fortresses of the small mountain republics. The most powerful amghars disappear; they are replaced by minor sheiks, often without real influence, who become simple tax collectors under the orders of the caliphates; the "Ijmaʿan," those notables whose authority was imposed on the Aït Arbaʿin and directed the policy of the small autonomous cantons, also give way to effaced sheiks; the "Aït Arbaʿin" sometimes still exist, serving as intermediaries with the families and applying the customary law to the extent that the representative of the kaid tolerates it.

175 Four solid command-houses are built at the most important
*631 points in the conquered territory, in the Tidili, at Assarag of the
*634 Tifnout, at Assaka of the Aït ou Hamden in the Azilal, at
•727
712

/351 cont./

175 Izoggweir of the Zagmouzen. Caliphates who belong to the
*631 families of Telwet or of the Ouneila, long allied with the kaid,
*634 stay in these fortresses. Around them a guard of Glawa mokhaznis
•727 makes order prevail and transmits the casbah's instructions to the
712 sheiks; the essential function of these representatives of the Makhzen /makhzan/ is to demand from the inhabitants the highest contributions that they are capable of furnishing. They remain indifferent to the internal life of the cantons or of the villages, about whose past and customs they are entirely ignorant. They are foreigners who have come to get rich and who accept their sojourn in the midst of hostile tribes because of the sizable profits that they can reap from them.

In the neighboring tribe of the Souktana conquered shortly afterward, the exploitation /352/ of the country is done in a slightly different manner. The large casbah of Taliwin, in which
[651] Imassin shorfa /shurfa/ of the Dadès, allied with the Glawa, stay as caliphates, contains the "frida" collected by mokhaznis established in the eight command-houses scattered in the small territory; thus all the resources of the country are drained in the most rapid and the most complete manner.

175 The weakening of the country, crushed by the successive con-
*631 tributions, is such that a few men suffice to maintain order in it.
*634 This regime, under which a sizable part of the Aït Waouzgit tribes
727 live in our day, was that of the Gedmiwa of the plains at the time of the fleeting domination of the Mtougga and Glawa from 1906 to 1910, or even at present that of the Ida Ou Ziki and Nfifa in the command of the Mtougga. The general impoverishment that re-
[166] sults from this intensive exploitation leads to the emigration of a large part of the inhabitants and a constant diminution of the returns from the land.

Only a few distant cantons of the high mountains, sometimes treated with respect by reason of the ancient alliances and services rendered, such as the Aït Tawiya and the Ikhzamen of the summit of the Sirwa, succeed in escaping the general ruin. So the inhabitants try as much as possible to live apart and not attract, in the solitude of the summits, the attention of the caliphates of the plains.

*631 /388 cont./
*634 of submission, like beasts pacified by an instant's revolt against
648 too burdensome a yoke.
669
178 But it is especially at the time of local revolts, justified by the excesses of a foreign chief's domination and maintained by the vitality of the traditions of independence, that the struggle is prolonged. At the beginning of the movement, caliphates and mokhaznis have been betrayed and massacred; each has retaken his possessions and prepared his weapons. Upon the arrival of the forces of the Makhzen /makhzan/, the warriors defend their territory energetically; then, before the progress of the harka, flee into the nearby mountains with their families and flocks. The
[727] kaid then has the villages destroyed and, if the "siba" is prolonged, the olive and palm trees cut down. El Hajj ʿAbdallah Ou Bihi proceeded in this way among the Aït ʿAisi, and the chiefs of the Mtougga did the same in the country of the Ida Ou Ziki, in ruins today.

178 IX. The disappearance of Berbère /Berber/ institutions. --
*631 If we had to point out, at the end of this long evolution that
648 changed the independent republics into tribes subject to the Sultan, the most important transformations that took place in the life of the Berbère /Berber/ country, our choice would turn to the growth of the political units, the development of wars, and the slow, but sure disappearance of the old law.

*[634] In constituting their commands, the amghars contributed toward erasing the boundaries of the cantons, which formerly separated the small autonomous states. Later, the long and patient effort of the Makhzen /makhzan/ reunited these often hostile groups within the frontiers of one tribe; a new fractioning made ancient divisions disappear to only a memory; finally, a single chief received from the sultan the right to command. This enlargement of the cadre of local life is the result of wars and revolts without number; it was acquired at the price of sufferings that cannot be added up without some sadness; perhaps it had to be this way in order /389/ that the little mountain societies might succeed in finding their place in the Empire.

/311 cont./

343 712 621 423 625 Agadir of Tizzirt (Fig. 19). -- Belongs to the village of Tizzirt (50 hearths). Certain inhabitants own up to five chambers there.

Same arrangements and operation as at Ankoutouf.

The guard is usually a man. As an exception, this job was [562] entrusted to a widow in 1928.

Agadir of Annoums (Fig. 8 and Fig. 20). -- It belongs to the village of Annoums (65 hearths).

[465] [685] [184] Five stories, all 80 chambers occupied; the guard receives a kharrouba of barley per chamber and per year. In case of theft, the custom is the same as for the agadir of Ankoutouf.

Agadir of Tamjlojt (Fig. 21). -- It belongs to the village of Tamjlojt (45 hearths). Sixty rooms, four stories. The guard receives one tmen of barley and one kharrouba of maize per room [465] [562] and per year. As an exception, this post was given to a woman last year.

Agadir of Talmakant (Fig. 16). -- It belongs to the village of Talmakant (40 hearths) and comprises 52 large rooms on two [312] stories. It can serve both as storehouse and as réduit for defense in case of attack, because of its cistern and its interior arrangement.

[682] /312/ It is in ruins in part; it has not been used any more for 25 to 30 years because an assassination was committed there.

Agadir of Assaka (Fig. 17). -- Like the preceding one, it served both as storehouse and as fortress.

[669] It was destroyed in part following internal struggles in 1925, and it is planned to put it back into condition. It serves at pres- [727] ent to shelter the numerous exiles who returned to the tribe after the submission and found their houses demolished.

Agadir of Azar (Fig. 18). -- It belongs to the village of Azar (28 hearths).

It normally serves as storehouse and in troubled times as fortress. The rooms are mortgaged for 5 to 20 douros. The [465] guard, changed every year, collects a kharrouba of barley, one kharrouba of maize, and a pound of almonds.